/647 cont./

587 Gertie lost her first husband, who was killed on an otter hunt. Immediately her brother-in-law sent away his wife and took Gertie. When he died, she joined Chris with whom she is still living. The latter had lost his first wife to a Turk in Ushuaia. If a widow runs after her brother-in-law, it is impossible for him to get rid of her, even if he is married.

•[589] In Yamana economy it is almost impossible for a widow to maintain herself alone. Hence she cannot long remain unmarried, and she herself is compelled to try to remarry. This is obvious in the complete meaning of the word kwinan, and BD:225 states it fully: "A woman lately a widow, taken as a wife by another" /cited in English/. Usually a man soon proposes to her, for a young, able widow accomplishes more and is more valuable to him than a girl who is still inexperienced. I was assured that a widower had an even greater right to his recently widowed sister-in-law, namely, that he may force her to marry him, and that he can even take the recalcitrant one by the hair and drag her into his hut. Although this right is granted, a man has scarcely ever made use of it, for he must consider the fact that such a refractory sister-in-law will run away from him at the first opportunity. A widow, however, cannot actually coerce her brother-in-law into marrying her, and even less when he is already married. To be sure he can never evade the duty of taking care of his half-orphaned nephews and nieces in one way or another, if they are not provided for elsewhere.

581 607 In general, persons related by marriage show a certain deference and mutual respect for each other. On this account the brother-in-law and widowed sister-in-law who have married are consciously respectful toward each other during the first few months. They talk remarkably little and always very softly.

581 736 595 Thus, since a married man has the right and a certain obligation to care for his widowed sister-in-law, no one disapproves if he lets her come into his hut as his second wife. She must be /648/ economically secure and have no interference in making a free choice. This is the more comprehensive and final meaning of the obligation toward widow-marriage. It is even more important that the half-orphans be well cared for and properly reared under all circumstances (25).

25. The obligation of the levirate is partly

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581 marital union with a suitable lifelong companion. If a child hesitates for an unduly long time, the Yamana regard it as an impropriety on the part of the parents.

581 The reasons for an early marriage of young people are also of
589 paramount importance for widowed persons. The duty of a widow to marry has arisen chiefly out of solicitude for her children. Hence "as soon as a man dies, his wives are married to others" /cited in English/ (Bridges /692/ in MM:III, 117;1869). As a result, "There are very few single women, not one among a hundred" /cited in English/ (ibid.) (105). Extraordinary reasons prevent a new marriage.

> 105. With this statement Bridges (a):203 to a certain extent corrects an earlier assertion: "Owing to the almost general practice of polygamy, many men are without wives, and live so all their days. And owing to the general practice of giving young women to oldish men, the young men frequently can get no wives but relicts" /cited in English/.

589 Modern times have changed a great deal of this, for they have,
178 in part, considerably altered even the conditions of life. On February 2, 1878, Bridges (l):17 reported from Yendegaia: "Widows did not long continue so; in fact, a single adult man or woman was a rarity. But with the march of civilized life marriage becomes less necessary and more difficult, and the number of single men and women increases" /cited in English/. At present, there are so few Yamana living that everyone is married; sometimes there is even a young man with an aged wife, because he has no other choice. Only old Flora has been alone for a long time; she is regarded as hard to get along with.

732 A factually insignificant supplementary statement from Bridges
589 (l):21 is added here: "Though deaf or dumb men never married, unless it were an old woman, a deaf woman would be a wife and have children -- the men remained single because usually no woman would marry such" /cited in English/.

589 What has been said about young persons and those of middle age
887 does not apply to old people. Since they no longer have their

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589 888 strength, they could not do full justice to the tasks incumbent on them by the division of labor and would thus be more of a burden than a help in life with a marriage partner. Hence they forgo another marriage and try to find refuge in the hut of one of their relatives where they can be included in the daily routine without trouble. Sometimes they continue to run their own households. "Older women whose husbands have died exercise quite firmly all the rights of the head of the family. Even when they live alone, they always have with them a few children or grandchildren who are absolutely obedient to them" (Hyades [g]:35) (106). Aside

> 106. Bridges' (i):14 diary entry of July 2, 1872, sounds almost the same: "The lives of the old women who have been reported as the usual victims of cannibalism, were as sacred as those of any other persons, because they had sons and daughters, nephews and nieces, younger brothers and sisters, who felt as such towards them, and none dared to suggest their deaths" /cited in English/.

from the good influence they have, they are still at times helpful in economic life. "The old women, by the way, are by no means as useless as is assumed in the tale [of their being done away with during a famine]; their experience makes them definitely appreciated in obtaining food, as well as in other household tasks, and not at all infrequently young people would rather marry an experienced older woman than a young girl even though she is prettier" (ibid). The woman herself finally decides, according to her situation and character, whether she will go on living as a widow or marry again at an advanced age.

182 /693/ The arbitrary assertions of certain Europeans have given a distorted picture of marital conditions among the Yamana. Neither Darwin nor Bove fulfilled the requirements which would entitle them to judge an arrangement as difficult to investigate as marriage is. They did not even admit to themselves that the conditions they describe are unnatural; had such conditions really developed, the people would have been driven in mad haste to complete destruction.